1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 317 674 203 is known by the way in which the *lasi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook taro meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*tauanga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

[653]

Wakatongalongo mai koutou,[1] o to tauaʻ kaki ki te vaenanga a te pule ko ovatu ki a koutou ia. I a koutou, ave tokou koutou i a koutou tuuu ke wakatokatoka wau i te motu. Ko pukou tuuu i loto, o vayi ioa, ngalopalopa. No i ai na tuuui ia te vaenanga ke kongo koutou talinga. Wakatuuuia koutou wakaloloi. Ko te vaenanga ia na tuuui ai ki a koutou. Tuugi ai loa ta te motu ia.	Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

628 291 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *koiuma* fern to use as fertilizer for village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195

[1] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *koutou, tatou*. The latter is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 202 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufo*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,*a*) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nauu*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *paya*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *paya* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nauu* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa tuvuu*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

533 Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kaula*). Formerly, when a large dancing and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*vaka vaka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 534 The single-ended drum (fig.50,*b*) was used as one instrument in an "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chanting on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *vaikaveve* or *vevea* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *kalu hi te paya*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
534 dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
531 types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and arrow, and shield were unknown.

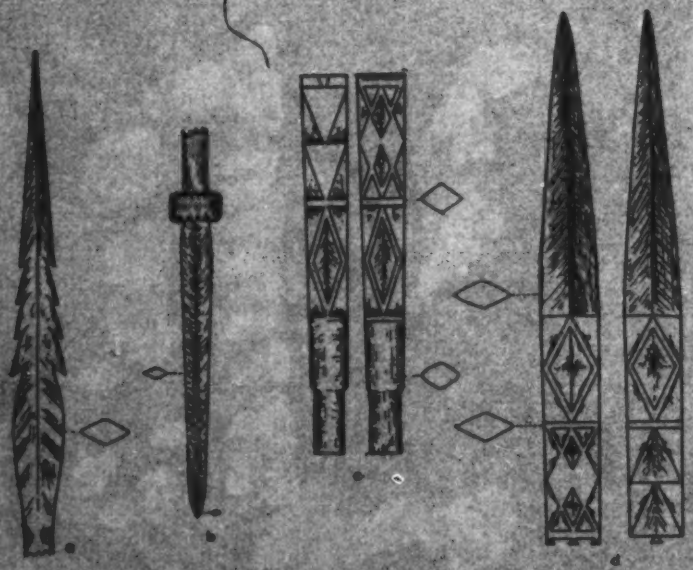

Figure 51.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of coconut wood spear (*tao*) (CB109): sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt medial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¾ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¾ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6⅛ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*yuuloualo*) of *wahauuta* wood (CB086): cross section becomes round, commencing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wahatalo*), single large lozenges (*paiohiolo*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and medial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 2¾ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5(1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is never-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*mokama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kolokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nou*, *mutau*, *koupou*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*nusi aka te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*maunga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o naku kahala*) to tame her spirit (*mahalata i tona mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *mahonave* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

764 533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uya*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanumpa*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*lua* or *taluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 775 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

Tolotolounga, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*sulovalo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tahapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngale, loui?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*anu*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

1

Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu
Ko wakauakauaku te muli o te kiole, ko wakauakauaku te muli o te kiole
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi toko toko to
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta

Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat]
(He) throws (her), bites her in the ngayu grove [repeat]
The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
[Nonsense syllables]

2

Ko yaole mai ia koe, ko yaole mai ia koe
Ko lomia e Tana, lomia e Tana ke tu te manavaka

You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Tana, pressed down by Tana till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect

3

Moe lai i a Te Yei ia te makemakunga o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Wati ai te titi o Tolota

Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]

4

Yaole matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-angi ki te matangi
Yaole matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangi-angi ki te matangi
Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te taki

We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]

We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.

5

E te manu e nimonimo ia
E te manu e nimonimo ia
Wakakaukau atu ia te wale
Walukaukau atu ia te wale
Matiatia matiatia mati mai
Mati mai ki lomai e

Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.

6

E te manu e welele mai ia
E te manu e welele mai ia
Tau i te pungua ia wanga
Tau i te pungua ia wanga

Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *pungua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]

7

Lauaiina i te vai o Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te yitolo
Yioylo mai ke liko ai te ngongo

Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.

8

Kakalo atu ia matou e
Ki Te Manu kua wangke

Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili

Ilili matou, ilili matou
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
Ilili matou, ilili matou

We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising

Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan
We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

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his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kaw tuvu*, strong men): *mua tuka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto tuka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli tuka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua tuka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto tuka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli tuka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupa* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

826 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 93), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*noinganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*noinganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Walatoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*noinganga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*unkayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They
527 are of three kinds: *noinganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *tuloa*, and other reef fish; *noinganga utalolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *noinganga kahoi*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lauí*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During
[834] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kumai*, and *aunga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared taro, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The dancers are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taboo governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are out present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

In former times women held mat-making contests (*maingonga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*kaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the *aloa* dirge:

Moe ma te tuna e,
Tatou tuungi ki motu e,
Na mauli kape i matu e, kape ma mi vae.

Tino yasiella, ye vava, yasie wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai matua, no latou na vaia,
E tengia katou i te katou tangata,
Wuli wua mai ki a koe te patiki o te takanga
a te wai mulivaka,
Kau ngalo koe, e ulo laina i to pou te,

To yiku tala wawali ko te matamatangi—

Ne welaetaetka la lala
Wakatupeupou atu koe ki Mulivae.
E loku wuvale, e taku taina,
Aku wakaalain mai koe ko te wale atua.

Ne patua ko loto o Talilai.

Kaumai koe pe Waiei,
Ko ye tua na waituaga e tangata o te ato
Vaeua.
Kau yau loa te tala ma i te tala o Tiki na
patua,
Ko te vaka o Te Palo yu tela.
Tauei au e tungevaapu wakanaauva
Wakamailunga i te kainga ma te kau ma to a
katou ma te ulu lolo katou.
E oku taina, ke vave ake au pe Uyu,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu falahala e
Makutu ake, nenewu.
Kua toku mo te winnagalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding.
We cry out to the island,
The soul hurried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talilai.
You smelled like Waiei.[28]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[29]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyu,[30]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

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It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to *Motu Ko* for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tuna and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pailou. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tuna to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[28] A character in a popular story.
[29] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[30] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 533 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the composing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] [195] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.

538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 526 578 621 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa, yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant
[613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance,

533 is not always clear or consistent. Thus the lalau, Wakaoli io koe, (see page 126) was composed by the subject Lialo, assisted by friends. A happy phrase suggested by a friend in the second person, addressing Lialo, is incorporated verbatim. Phrases suggested by Lialo himself are naturally in the first person. Though in extreme cases, the pronouns chop and change with great frequency, informants saw no cause for confusion. In line 1 of the lalau, the phrasing, "Wakaoli io koe", dance out you, was suggested by a friend; the phrase in line 3, "Akaanowia oku tino manu", cool my body birdlike, was obviously formulated by Lialo himself. These examples could be duplicated in many of the chants collected. They show that a certain consistency of craftmanship in these matters was of no value or interest. They also illustrate one of the pitfalls which makes the translation of such chants no easy matter.

Analysis

Structural analysis indicates that any chant is composed of an arbitrary number of sections or phrases (yikunga) of varying length, each unified within itself by meaning. The very short chants may consist of but one or two sections. Each section is divided into three minor sections, a first, the uyunga pu yikunga, a middle, the lolotonu pu yikunga, and the end sections, the yiku pu yikunga. These subsections mark off pauses, a fresh breath being taken at the end of each; they also serve to break up the meaning of the total phrase (yikunga) into several minor meaning units. I do not think that a chant is composed with these divisions and subdivisions clearly outlined in the mind of the composer. They represent a pattern of composition that is more subconsciously rather than consciously followed.

Another structural device is the wakamaunga, which consists of one or more sections and serves as a general introductory statement to the main chant. In the elaborate cycle of chants making up the Tamanu series two long wakamaunga preface the three main chants. But these wakamaunga were so long that it was necessary to add an introduction to the introductions; this explains the first section of the Tamanu called uyunga. Wakamaunga of more moderate length are those attached to the kupu malama: "Na yayae to matokatolu" and to the lalau: "Akaolia tukia ki te vaka" (see page 132). A second introductory device is the lolominga, a short set of phrases which adds material not incorporated in the main chant. This use of the lolominga is illustrated in the lalau: "Wakaoli io koe"

533 (see page 126). A lolominga may be sufficiently long to stand on its own; it is then not different from a short love chant. A lolominga of this type is the chant: "Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga" (see page 106), which is the elaborate development of a metaphorical comparison between a woman and a canoe.

Meter

The general characteristics that distinguish the chanting of different chants are termed tanga (from ta, to chant.) This may be roughly, though incorrectly, translated as meter. It may include meter, but in general the meter of a chant refers also to its pitch, volume, speed, and accent. The chanting depends for its musical quality upon rhythm obtained through accent and sometimes meter, through crescendo and diminuendo of volume, raising and lowering of pitch, acceleration and decrease of speed of chanting. In terms of these characteristics informants distinguished the following types of chanting: ta wakatato, fast, pitch low; ta wakateka, fast, but voice a semi-falsetto; ta wakatoto, a fast falsetto, considered appropriate to the expression of grief; ta wakatokotoko, the pitch moves up and down frequently in sharp changes of emphasis, with crescendo and dimuendo of the voice; ta wakamotumotu, characterized by sharp changes of pitch, starting with an emphatic low, then raised to a high pitch which is held for several beats, then dropped to the previous low; ta wakaleka, an even flow of sound with voice on the same pitch; ta ki lunga, the voice is kept at semi-falsetto pitch throughout the chant. A further type is ta waka e e, so called because of the frequent, long accented e sounds occurring throughout the chant.

One informant made a hesitant, but not absolutely successful attempt to base some of the distinction between different tanga on metrical considerations. According to him a meter which alternates notes, long-short, long-short, is termed ta wakatokutoku. His metrical version of one chant is presented below. Beyond this, however, he could not present any further consistent distinction, save one in terms of relative smoothness as against choppiness of recitation, or calm as against excited chanting. Perhaps in ta wakamayangi, a meter may be established. This is the rhythm for the juggling chants which accompany the throwing of the articles into the air. It is a slow even flow of sounds in rhythm to the even throwing. It is evident that formal meter is not an intergral part of Pukapukan chanting. Meter is of course present in all the chants but it is not harmonized into a consistent system that can be named and used. It may be noted that accent is of great importance in chanting. It falls with the length, but is

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are: —, for a long vowel; -, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″ , a strong accent; ′ , medium accent; ↓ , low pitch; ↑, high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e ll to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e , e, e, te tawito niu loa.

2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.

3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.

4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:

5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.

6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.

7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;

8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;

533 9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.
539

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.

11. Ya wakaknekne; ya wakatuloutulou.

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.

16. Ko tiitike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.

21. Yuatia teia; wakatangilia teia.

22. Na tama i te mata leiuma, na topetopea;

23. Yoko a Wenutuki te lakau wakatalatala.

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[81] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[77] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowel is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka becomes aka			na becomes nu		
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[521] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The matou is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524 539 [533] 6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau,
Te potia ua, te potia ua,
Ua lele, ua lele,
Poloiti polo lau mea mea
Aleuei, aluei, pa na, pa na
E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,
} Meaning obscure

Motu la Manuyiki laua ma Lakawanga. Severed are they, Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.